

COSTUME AND TRANSGRESSIVITY IN THE PASTOURELLE¹

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In the suffrage for St. Margaret of Antioch in Jean Fouquet's *Hours of Etienne Chevalier* painted about 1455, the artist depicts the saint as a shepherdess in a tightly fitted fifteenth-century long dress with apron, holding a distaff. She stands among seated maidens (whose long hair indicates their penchant for sensuality); they watch their sheep in front of a contemporary castle set in a manicured landscape. The prefect Olybrius, dressed as a medieval gallant, rides by on a richly caparisoned palfrey followed by a retinue; he gazes lustfully at the shepherdess Margaret, whom we recognize only because she is nimbed.² This miniature collapses the several events leading up to the saint's martyrdom, in which Margaret, disowned and rusticated by her father after her acceptance of Christianity, is tending sheep when she is noticed and desired for her great beauty by the Roman prefect. Instead of depicting a full narrative, Fouquet illustrates a familiar literary encounter between an aristocratic rider and a beautiful shepherdess, relying on an image he could expect his audience to recognize immediately as presenting everything that happened to Margaret before her martyrdom.

Such an amorous encounter characterizes the pastourelle,³ a lyric genre taking its name from the French word for shepherdess; its later variant, called the *bergerie*, comes from the word for shepherd. The pastourelle in its "classical" form was popular from about 1140 to about 1300. It was then supplanted by the *bergerie* whose greatest period of fashion was from about 1360 to about 1425. Both types incorporate some of the most realistic costume description in vernacular poetry before Chaucer, though they have not generally been examined from this perspective. Yet pastourelle is the one type of medieval literature devoted specifically to the consideration of a lower class by a higher where the clothes of rustics form the subject of discussion. Unlike costume descriptions of the idealized but non-specific courtly heroines of other contemporary vernacular lyrics, early pastourelles offer a considerable amount of detailed information on dress, both the expected and the unexpected. The present paper considers how offers of unsuitable female costume as gifts in some of these early poems, descriptions of revealing male dress in the later

bergeries, and corresponding images from somewhat later manuscript illuminations and paintings reflect the medieval aristocratic fear of peasant mobility and social transgressivity while often commenting ironically on certain excesses of aristocratic fashion.

I do not, of course, suggest a diachronic development for the themes I examine. Indeed, the earliest *pastourelle*—that by Marcabru (1130-49)—is clearly preoccupied with ideas about social class, lineage, and rustic mobility (Paden “Flight” 306), while other *pastourelles* composed in the 1250s are not. Similarly, some *bergeries* offer a detailed account of shepherd costume, foods, customs, and the like in a way that reveals fears of transgressivity, while others do not, or do so to a much lesser degree. Moreover, because there was a cultural lag between realistic literary treatment of costume in the *pastourelle* and similar treatments in medieval art, much of the evidence I offer here comes from the visual arts of later centuries and my argument may seem on occasion anachronistic unless this lag is recognized.⁴ As far as can be told, costume illustration in manuscripts during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the *pastourelle* was at its most popular, tended to be rather generic, as if agricultural workers were not of sufficient interest to illuminators to justify close attention to what they wore. This situation changes markedly in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, when it becomes fashionable to detail the dress of shepherds and other rustics in scenes of the Labors of the Months and in miniatures of the Annunciation to the Shepherds in books of hours such as the *Très Riches Heures* of Jean de Berri (c. 1414).

In addition to problems of chronology, so too, inevitably, in the study of medieval costume one runs the risk of “presentism” in responding to medieval depictions of costume in contemporary or “monolithic” terms that may much misstate how costume was perceived in the Middle Ages. This latter danger was well expressed by Caroline Bynum when she noted that “there will never be simply one response to an object . . . because all knowing and responding is, as we have recently come to say, perspectival; people see according to where they are socially . . . positioned.”⁵ Nonetheless, I believe it is safe to say that there are certain attitudes towards dress for which *pastourelles* offer the earliest and most direct evidence.

The complex history of the *pastourelle*, as it moved through various time periods and cultures, contributes to its usefulness as a source of information. Though *pastourelles* largely flowered in the thirteenth century in Provençal and in the Picard dialect of northern France, by the fourteenth century there were also a variety of

pastourelles in Spanish and German. For instance, cycles of such poems were popularized in Spain by Juan Ruiz, the Archpriest of Hita, in the *Book of Good Love* (1330-43) in a form called the *serranilla*, where the shepherdess becomes a sexually aggressive mountain girl; in Germany, however, the genre—particularly associated with the name of Neidhart von Reuenthal (1185-1240) whose poems show a violent hatred of peasants as dangerous pretenders to courtly behavior—seems chiefly to have served for anti-peasant satire, though often including detailed descriptions of peasant garments.⁶ Although by about 1300 the pastourelle in its traditional form had fallen out of favor with French poets, it was revived at the end of the next century in the form of the *bergerie*, in which an observer watches and describes a debate or game among agricultural laborers or shepherds; for example, several of these are ascribed to Eustache Deschamps and Jean Froissart,⁷ and another group of anonymous authorship, largely in Picard, exists in a manuscript in the University of Pennsylvania Library, MS Van Pelt 15.⁸ These were probably composed in the 1370s, perhaps contemporary with Froissart. One such *bergerie* in this anthology will occupy us at some length later in this paper.

The earliest pastourelles present a narrator who is not himself a shepherd but is, instead, an aristocratic visitor to the countryside. Struck with wonder and curiosity at the life he sees before him, he inevitably expresses the values of his class in his encounters with rustics. In some poems this visitor is called a "chevalier" and he is typically mounted on a palfrey or destrier, as in a late twelfth-century poem by Gui d'Ussel.⁹ Riding into a rural area, the aristocrat sees a lovely shepherdess guarding her flock. Such herding activity defines her social class and immediately identifies this poetic genre. The narrator describes the woman's appearance, often debates with her, and attempts to seduce her through promises or offerings of gifts of clothing or ornaments. Their amatory conversation—often witty—forms the core of pastourelle. If debate, gifts, or charm fails to convince her, the narrator sometimes simply rapes her. Occasionally, the shepherdess tricks the narrator and manages to escape and mock him. By their rural setting and class opposition, then, these poems offer rich opportunities for considerable social description.

William Paden has questioned whether in fact there actually were shepherdesses in France during the later Middle Ages, and he concludes that there were not: "the lyric genre based upon the shepherdess was a song about a figure who was so unusual in real life as to be, in effect, unreal" ("Figure" 3). Historical evidence, however—archival and textual, as well as from manuscript miniatures—would

suggest the more nuanced view offered by Marie-Thérèse Kaiser-Guyot, in what is certainly the most thorough study of the shepherd in France in the late Middle Ages. She notes, on the basis of archival evidence, that while few women seem to have practiced the *métier* of shepherdess independently of a husband or male relative, women frequently guarded animals or herds and therefore this theme in the *pastourelle* is not purely literary, though actual shepherdesses seemed mainly to have watched lambs and goats (22-23).¹⁰

The fullest contemporary treatment of the daily life of shepherds in the late Middle Ages is that of Jean de Brie in his *Le Bon Berger*, written at the behest of Charles V in 1379, a work not mentioned by Paden. Jean de Brie, who was born in 1339 in Villiers-sur-Rongnon, in Brie, had spent some years as a shepherd before he became a valet in the service of Jehan de Hestomesnil, a canon of Sainte-Chapelle in Paris and an important royal official who died in the same year as Charles V. It was Hestomesnil who apparently brought Jean to the king's attention and eventually made six different bequests to his servant. The book's rather scholastic structure—it opens with the four Aristotelian Causes for the work's existence—and its biblical and classical justification for the sanctity and importance of the shepherd's life indicate that Jean de Brie must have dictated his materials to a learned person in the royal entourage. Still, it is obvious that *Le Bon Berger* was the product—in whatever form—of someone intimately familiar with late fourteenth-century French shepherd life, and thus it provides credible evidence for the existence of shepherdesses when it notes that the shepherd should have mittens knitted from wool spun on the distaff of the *bergerette*.¹¹

Somewhat similar as a source for the idea of actual shepherdesses in France at the period under discussion is an illuminated manuscript now in the Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 1179, a volume of proverbs and drawings dating from the fourteenth century. A miniature shows a shepherd and shepherdess in very detailed costume in a landscape; as with the *Bon Berger* this view of the couple suggests close observation of the shepherd's craft, and it seems unlikely that such attention would have been paid to the woman if there were not actual shepherdesses easily available for models.¹² In religious art of the next generation, we have already seen that Saint Margaret is clearly represented as a shepherdess in contemporary costume, subject of the male gaze, in the hours mentioned earlier. A seductively dressed shepherdess suggestively holding a distaff appears in an Annunciation to the Shepherds miniature cutting from an hours of Lyon use, done about 1485, now in the Free Library of Philadelphia (Figure 1). Indeed, one



Figure 1: Annunciation to the Shepherds miniature cutting from an hours of Lyon use, done about 1485. Lewis M. 11. 02. Reprinted by permission of the Free Library of Philadelphia.

of the shepherds is gazing directly down at the shepherdess's bosom rather than up at the angel in the heavens.¹³

Among late medieval secular works of art showing shepherdesses, we may cite a bucolic scene by the late-fifteenth-century French artist Robinet Testard, who painted miniatures for a geographical treatise in fifty-six chapters called *Les Secretz de la Nature*, now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS fr. 22971, of 1480-85. Pictures accompanying the descriptions of the various countries epitomize the economies of each region. For France, Testard shows a shepherd lying at his ease with sheep, while nearby a shepherdess spins. They wear traditional agricultural costume: the man in a *cote* and *chausses* or hose and the woman—very similar to the shepherdesses depicted in the volume of proverbs mentioned earlier—in a *cote* with chemise visible at the neck and a wimpled head covering.¹⁴ It seems improbable that such references to and illustrations of shepherdesses would have been made if women did not frequently have this role in rural life.

In twelfth- and thirteenth-century *pastourelles*, costume—observed by the narrators with considerable accuracy and attention to detail—agrees generally with that of the female rustics shown in later manuscript miniatures and described in fourteenth-century will inventories and sumptuary-law accounts outlining what agricultural workers should wear.¹⁵ It is only the interference of the narrator in the life of the shepherdess through his promise of clothes and ornaments in exchange for sexual favors that complicates matters. By contrast, in the *bergeries* the view of shepherds dressed above their stations excites the uninvolved narrator's sense of wonder and irony at such class transgression. Since both male and female costume will be discussed in the following remarks, it is worth outlining in a general way this class-appropriate costume before going on to examine unsuitable clothing and the *pastourelle* authors' responses to it.

To take the case of French women first—for the *pastourelle* typically provides rather more information on rustic female dress—they wore a "robe," a term which can mean either an entire costume or a dress, consisting of several layers of garments. Worn directly over the skin was a white linen or hemp chemise, an undergarment of ankle length, often pleated and with a rounded neck and long sleeves. (There is no evidence that women wore underpants at this period.¹⁶) The neckline of the chemise is sometimes plunging to show the tops of the breasts, and the bodice is often laced horizontally or criss-cross. Unfortunately, no chemises were itemized in the fourteenth-century Burgundian inventories just mentioned, so much of the information

about this garment comes from poetry or manuscript miniatures. Over this chemise the woman wears the actual robe, a long, tightly fitting dress called a *cotte* or *cote*.¹⁷ A poem by Henry III, Duke of Brabant (1230-61), describes such a dress as a "long cote trainant" (Paden [131] 339). In some cases this *cote* is tucked up into a white linen or hemp apron to suggest that the woman will be doing dirty work. A pastourelle by Giraut de Bornelh (1165-1210) notes just this detail: "she had tucked up the skirt she was wearing because of the brush" (Paden [11] 45).

Though at first it might seem simple to generalize about the colors of this rustic female costume on the basis of its depiction in manuscript illumination, there is some distinction between idealized costume, such as that in books of hours, which tends to be richer in hue, and naturalistic treatments, which tend to be flatter and paler. Moreover, names of medieval colors are notoriously hard to interpret and tie to social class. For example, thirty-one of the women's *cotes* mentioned in the fourteenth-century Burgundian inventories of rustic clothing possessed at the time of the person's death were of a color called "pers."¹⁸ And one anonymous French pastourelle of the thirteenth century has the girl sing a refrain about how she has put on a "cotte" of "pers" (Paden [105] 273). Yet the word "pers" clearly refers in upper-class clothing inventories to a rich blue dye made from Middle Eastern indigo, approximated perhaps, by the cobalt blue paint used for the aristocratic blue in the robes in the *Très Riches Heures*. Thus, it would be quite wrong to believe that such a rich blue would have been available to peasants, and probably the "pers" of the peasant inventories is a generic term denoting a dull blue brown made from woad.

Above the *cote* in order came the *chape* or *mantel*. These layers were much the same for men, as we see in the contemporary account of a rustic from a poem called *Le Dit de l'Eschacier*, where the "stumbling" narrator encounters a peasant (*vilain*) who is dressed (*appareilliez*) wearing a *chape*, *mantel*, and *cote*:

Or oiez du vilain
 Que j'encontrai ou plain,
 Comme ert appareilliez
 Et parfont abilliez
 Chape avoir et mantel
 et cote . . .
 Et braies et chemise,
 . . .
 De mesmes le burel. (Evans 30)

As this author shows, rustic men wore, besides the mantle or chape and thigh-length cote (these he says were of a undyed or possibly gray-brownish *burel* fabric of coarse quality), a shorter chemise, usually extending only to the buttocks, and an additional garment—underpants called *braies*, baggy, thigh-length shorts, usually of white linen.

Both rustics and middle- and upper-class men by the mid- to late fourteenth century also wore woolen or linen hose or *chausses* that were bias cut for elasticity and had seams both at front and at rear. These were often joined to the braies to make either footed “moufles” cut away to leave the heel bare—the term seems to have been interchangeable with mittens for the hands—or footless hose, “pieds coupés” (Evans 30). Unlike modern tights, these were actually separate waist-high stockings a bit like present-day leg warmers. The Burgundian inventories show them as typically “pers” for both men and women, but they are usually undyed in manuscript miniatures. The braies and sometimes the chemise as well were simply stuffed into the tops of the hose on each side, or the hose were attached to the cote by garter-like laces called *points*. To allow easy crouching or bending, the points were often left untied, exposing the front and rear of the wearer. A miniature from the Holkham Bible, now British Library MS Additional 47682, folio 6, shows Cain and Abel plowing in apparently bluish *cotes* tucked up into their girdles, wearing chausses, and with the collars of the chemise visible (Hassall). With the outlines of this slightly differing female and male rustic costume in mind, we can return to the pastourelles as a source of information on, and attitudes towards, dress.

Some of the several protective layers of female dress such as *surcot*, *chape*, or *mantel* are frequently mentioned in pastourelles because these garments—or their absence—are often the first things noted by the narrators as they approach the shepherdesses at a distance. “Pour le froit” (for cold weather) as Jean de Braine remarks, the shepherdess will have a *chape* or sometime a hooded *surcot* (Paden [59] 165). In an anonymous thirteenth-century French pastourelle the practical shepherdess tells the narrator that he must give her a *sorcote* before she will make love with him (Paden [122] 313). By the twelfth century, it became fashionable for both men and women to have the *cote* and a protective outer garment—cape-like or mantle-like—of a matching fabric, as we saw in *Le Dit de l'Eschacier*, and Jean Erart (fl. 1240-54) has his narrator describe such a shepherdess in a “brown cote and cape” (Paden [63] 173). In the fabliau of *Boivin de Poivins* such rustic costume is described with a stress on its matching character and

grayish-brown color: "vestuz se fu d'un burel gris, / Cote et sorcot et chape ensemble, / Qui tout fu d'un" (IV.6-8). Another anonymous French pastourelle makes the narrator come upon the shepherdess in an orchard in mild weather, a time of year when she has no outer garments: neither "sourcot ne pelicon" (Paden [34] 111). In the poem by Jean de Braine just mentioned, the narrator prompts the girl "to take off your poor grey cloak," her *chape grisete* (Paden [59] 167).

Somewhat wealthier shepherdesses wore outer garments trimmed with rabbit or cat fur. As Piponnier and Mane note, "among the peasantry a fur-lined wool pelisse was an almost unheard of luxury, but women would frequently own a leather jerkin lined with its own fur; this might be made of lambskin or, more commonly, of rabbit or kid" (24). In an anonymous French pastourelle of the thirteenth century the narrator gets nowhere with such a well-turned-out girl by mere speech and finally, throwing her down, "levai la pelice, / la blanche chemise" [lifted her fur cloak, her white chemise] (Paden [118] 305).

Of particular interest is the way in which the pastourelle poets use details of actual rustic costume—most notably the chemise—to create erotic tension in their work. In an anonymous French pastourelle of 1200-1250 the narrator is amorously pursued by a young shepherdess who "runs after him in her chemise" [se courcier / sa chainse] (Paden [37] 119). In another anonymous French thirteenth-century pastourelle the narrator is excited by the shepherdess' linen chemise, for he is suggesting that the woman has shed her *cote* and is wearing only this garment. E. Jane Burns has noted, in her recent study of female undergarments in Old French romances, that a woman described in courtly poetry as wearing only a chemise is symbolically nude and sexually available; presumably the same significance applies in the pastourelle (163-64).¹⁹ As the narrator of the French pastourelle gets closer to the shepherdess, he sees through the lacing of her chemise "the flesh beneath her breast whiter than any silver" [ke je vix per las viselle la char desous la mamelle plus blanche ke nul airgent] (Paden [81] 225). This particular visual detail may also be an homage to the *Roman de la Rose* (l. 1195), where the personification Largesse has made a gift to a woman beautiful and sensual enough to deserve it: "Thorough hir smokke [OF *la chemise*], wrought with silk, / The flesh was seen as white as mylk," as Chaucer translates it in his version of the poem (699).

In sumptuary law and manuscript painting, as we might imagine, such visible underwear and laced bodices are specifically associated with lust and temptation. For example, in 1298 Narbonne passed a law forbidding lace-up dresses that showed an embroidered chemise

underneath (Evans 15). And a young woman whose *cote* is laced from her breasts down to her loins is shown tempting St. Anthony in the Hours of Louis de Laval (c. 1480) from the workshop of Jean Colombe, now in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 920, folio 282.²⁰

That wearing only the chemise was a sign of sexual availability and sensuality elsewhere in medieval literature is shown by the description of Alison in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*. This poem, which relies on elements of the pastourelle in its narrative and in its depiction of rustic costume from a somewhat satiric perspective, seems calculatedly ambiguous about the "visibility" of this garment, which Chaucer calls a "smock" in his description of the upwardly mobile young wife of a well-to-do carpenter: "Whit was her smok, and broyden al bifoore / And eek bihynde, on hir coler aboute, / Of col-blak silk, withinne and eek withoute. / The tapes of her white voluper / Werre of the same suyte of her coler." Over this smock "a ceynt she werede, barred al of silk, / A barmeclooth as whit as morne milk / Upon hir lendes, ful of many a goore" ([I (A) 3235-41] 68).²¹ The word "smock" as we saw in the quotation from the *Roman de la Rose* above and from the *Merchant's Tale* (1.2353), is clearly understood by Chaucer as the equivalent to chemise. And Alison's "smok" has been interpreted by most Chaucerians in its dictionary sense of "a woman's undergarment, a shift or a chemise." One commentator observes of Alison's dress "that underwear embroidered in both front and back indicates vanity, extravagance, and sensuality" (Ross *MT* 145 and *Bawdy* 205).

Still somewhat puzzling is why Alison should be dressed in a chemise, a nightcap, an apron, belt, and purse with no apparent cote or dress over her undergarment. It is clear that both earlier than Chaucer and later "smock" meant *chemise* in Middle English. For example, in the Harley Lyrics of 1325 "A Wayle Whyt ase Whalles Bon" (9) the speaker wishes he were a thrush hidden between his love's "curtel ant hire smok" (Brook 41, 1.54) and in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* King Capaneus speaks of being "Al naked bot of smok" (Macaulay [1.2171] 94). In any case, though there are some differences between Chaucer's description of village dress and the simpler attire of the shepherdesses in pastourelle, the sexually suggestive chemise, the apron, and the fascination with silk as a symbol of social mobility are quite similar and show us the parallel rise of realistic class observation in certain forms of lyric and narrative poetry in the later Middle Ages.

With these features of class-appropriate male and female dress in mind we may see now how, in addition to the verbal persuasions to love offered to this girl, the pastourelle narrator typically promises her

gifts designed to suggest her imaginative elevation to an upper-class world or to appeal to the presumed transgressive tastes of her class as these might be imagined by an upper-class audience. Perhaps the baldest example of such an appeal to change classes is the one made in the poem by Jean de Braine mentioned earlier where the speaker's very language contrasts the classes: "Shepherdess, if you like, / You'll be the lady of a castle . . . I'll make of you, if you wish / An elegant lady, noble and proud. Leave the love of country boys / and cleave entirely to me!" (Paden [59] 165, 167).

Since the pastourelle narrator's promised gifts typically render the girl unfit for work, they seem intended to appeal to what was imagined as the nascent peasant desire to move higher in society; they show a full awareness of the role of costume signifiers such as color and fabric (for example scarlet, fur, or the silk we saw remarked on in Alison's portrait) in class mobility and relationships. In a Castilian pastourelle by Carvajal (fl. 1457-60) the relative symbolic values of upper- and lower-class fabrics is made clear as the girl rejects the already committed narrator's suit: "don't bother to love a peasant girl . . . Since you love such a lady / Don't trade silk for wool" (Paden [202] 517).

Alan Hunt has shown the prominence of silk and furs in sumptuary regulation. He notes that these two materials "acquire hierarchic significance not just because of their expense, but because they are delicate and unsuitable for work. Thus, the continuing sartorial significance of silk is to be accounted for through the combination of its expense and its delicacy."²² Since items of fur and silk are chief among the gifts representing the class of the pastourelle narrator and serve as indicators of the woman's mobility from peasant to lady on acceptance of his advances, it is not likely that their choice in these poems is accidental.

Since surviving sumptuary law for France at this period is fairly sparse,²³ perhaps we can extrapolate the social significance of fur there from similar English laws of 1363. For example, regulations pertaining to the apparel of handicraftsmen and yeomen—and presumably their wives—required that they not wear "any manner of fur, nor of budge, but only lamb, coney, cat, and fox." As for silk or finer fabrics, the item relating to the apparel of shepherds decrees that those who do not own forty shillings of goods or of chattels shall not "wear any manner of cloth but blanket and russet, of wool, [coarse dark cloth] worth not more than twelve pence [a yard]."²⁴

Simon d'Authie (1222-32) has his pastourelle narrator offer improvements in the girl's basic wardrobe: an extremely valuable silk dress (*reube . . . de soie*) if you "leave that foolish peasant" (*vilain sot*)

(Paden [42] 131). Ernoul de Gastinais promises the girl if she will love him she can “take off that old dress” (*vies robe*) and put on a fur-lined cloak (*vair mantel*) but she virtuously prefers her gray-brown cloak (*chape buire*) and chaste life ([77] 217). The anonymous author of a French motet of around 1250-1300 offers, in addition to a fur-lined cloak, a fine chemise and belt, and shoes painted with flowers ([158] 407).

Along with items of silk and fur, scarlet dyed fabric seems to be one of the more common class-transgressive gifts in *pastourelle*. As we saw in the case of the word *pers*, many medieval fabric and color terms have differing meaning according to the class of the wearer, or sometimes have a generic rather than a precise denotation. *Scarlet* is one such term of complex significance. It is generally believed that at the period of the *pastourelles* the word *scarlet* usually indicated an expensive colored fabric not necessarily dyed a red we would today call scarlet; indeed, only after the fifteenth century did the term refer to the color scarlet. For example, in the *Roman de la Rose*, the jealous husband berates his wife for preferring only the most costly fabrics, such as “escarlate” (II.9085-87). Hunt focuses on the later sense of scarlet as a color, which along with purple “was the most popular target of sumptuary regulation [since it was] persistently reserved for royal families in both France and Spain in the late Middle Ages.”²⁵ In the *pastourelle* by Gastinais mentioned earlier, however, the narrator seems to be indicating the color more than the fabric, for he offers to give the girl not an appropriately drab cloak but “one half of scarlet and half green” as though in recognition of how this color would symbolically upclass her ([74] 208).

Some narrators in the Spanish *serranillas*—in keeping with this genre’s general reversal of *pastourelle* dynamics where often the rustic girl becomes the sexual aggressor—make her request such items directly: “Give me a ribbon for my hair / made of scarlet cloth” (Paden [179] II.457) while Juan Ruiz, the Archpriest of Hita, has the girl ask her suitor for “a scarlet / Ribbon well dyed . . . and a fur hood / Striped with elegant cloth” ([180] II.463). Thus, though scarlet cloth or color did not, of course, make the shepherdess unfit for work, it did signal that she was out of her class, and this seems to have been its role in the *pastourelles*.

We have thus far concentrated on the *pastourelle*’s view of the amatory dealings of a shepherdess and an aristocratic visitor to the countryside, but many of these poems also describe in considerable detail the lives and culture of shepherds as subjects of interest to aristocratic audiences. Correspondingly, narrators switch from accounts

of female costume to those describing male attire. From the perspective of class costume signifiers and transgressive social behavior, one of the most important of such *bergeries* is the first poem in the University of Pennsylvania anthology. This work is particularly rich in information about how such audiences tied social upward mobility to sexual exhibitionism as a peasant characteristic. Moreover, the author uses the *pastourelle* form to satirize the fashion affectations of his own social class as well as those of rustics and to comment on the blurring of the distinctions between rustic and aristocratic dress just beginning to occur in his own day.

Here, the hidden narrator overhears a shepherd named Herman, now 100 years old, offer sartorial and moral counsel to his son Robin—a stock name for literary shepherds (Muller 120). “I feel my death is close,” he says, “and for this reason I wish to show you how to behave after my customs.” “Make sure,” he tells Robin,

that you wear a white *cote*, and patchwork shoes laced high
and fastened with three iron clasps. Beware of short *cotes*
showing your behind and genitals from every angle in your
drawers when you squat, and do not wear pointed and
windowed shoes. . .

The dutiful Robin agrees to do just as Herman commands:

Father, I will do your will. No *poulaines* will be my shoes,
causing me to trip as I go. I will not walk about with my
stomach cinched in nor with my hose attached to my *cote*,
for were I to kneel when trussed up thus, all would rip in
several places.²⁶

This interplay between Herman and Robin is quite complex. In his contrast between correct peasant attire and styles aped from the fashions of the aristocracy, Herman focuses not only on the four items of male dress which were the subject of satire—the *pourpoint* or short doublet, long pointed shoes called *poulaines* supposedly originating in Crakow, Poland, and tight under drawers and hose emphasizing the legs, genitals, and buttocks—but also on the manner in which Robin should wear his clothes. There is, too, the added recognition in Herman’s remarks of the changes taking place in rustic garb as it moved increasingly towards the fashions of the aristocracy—a change apparently disturbing to the poet.²⁷ For by the fifteenth century, workmen of all sorts—miners and industrial laborers as well as

rustics—are often shown in *pourpoint* and *chausses*, as in the manufacturing scenes of the very handsome herbal *Livre des simples médecines* of around 1450, now in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS IV.1024.²⁸ Thus, in Herman's multivalent admonition, we see reflected not only a scorn of aristocratic excess and a fear of peasant upward mobility but also the belief in peasant exhibitionism that Jonathan Alexander and Paul Freedman have shown to be deeply rooted in medieval thought.²⁹

Though in his remarks on modesty of costume, Herman seems to be advising the rustic Robin and presumably other shepherds, it is clear that the poet is commenting through Herman on the fashions of courtiers and upper-class men as well. In describing the area of Robin's body that will be revealed by immodest clothing, Herman does not use the disguising term *braguette*,³⁰ but rather the direct and specific phrase "ton membre." The visual image he gives of Robin is rather complex, for he seems to imagine him in both the older rustic "braies" and the newer "chausses" while Robin in his reply alludes only to the more fashionable *pourpoint* hose or "chausses" just beginning to be adopted by rustics. In noting how both Robin's "cul" and "membre" will show, presumably as he stands, Herman draws attention to the length of the "cottes"—really the aristocratic *pourpoint* or "cours vestans" revealing the braies.

The mention of the only too visible "membre" alludes to what had been primarily the aristocratic fashion for very tight male hose with a sort of fly, called the codpiece, joining the individual *chausses* or stockings and focusing attention on the wearer's genitals. This was a small triangular or crescent-shaped flapped bag at the crotch of the hose, sewn to the fabric below and closed by ties, buttons, or catches above; it became an expression of virility, as it is in Rabelais's description of his hero's codpiece in *Gargantua*.³¹ Developing in France and Italy as *pourpoint* hemlines rose in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was rendered prominent with padding, often made of slashed or contrasting fabric, and given jeweled buttons or other ornate fastenings.

Exactly how early the codpiece was common is a matter of some debate.³² It is clear that in English "cod" meant scrotum as we see from the English surgeon John Arderne's *Fistula in Ano* of around 1370 ("the codde of the testiclez" [Power 54]), and the term "codpiece" is first used around 1450 in Peter Idley's courtesy book *Instructions to his Son*: "Sum set þeir myndes galantes to asspye, Beholdyng þe schort garmentes round all abouȝt And how þe stuffyng off þe codpece berys ouȝt" (D'Evelyn 2.S.420). It does, however, appear in one of the most

spectacular examples of early fifteenth-century realistic manuscript illumination, as we will see shortly.

As with the pourpoint and chausses, the codpiece came from aristocratic to laboring dress, as Herman intimates. Hans Sachs (1497-1576), for example, speaks of "peasant lads" who "caused great scandal / because they wore great codpieces/ on their breeches, / which were hollow within / but completely padded out with rags."³³ Similarly, in Peter Breughel's labors of the months paintings, the August Wheat Harvest shows a gluttonous peasant with open codpiece lying in front of a tree as women harvesters eat.³⁴ However, such beliefs that the peasant flaunted a crude and unrestrained sexuality and that his disrespect for his social superiors was ready to burst out at any moment were popular among upper-class people some generations earlier than Sachs and Breughel.

Perhaps the best place to examine this fear of peasant assault on authority through exhibitionism is in Jean de Berri's *Très Riches Heures* (c. 1414), where the Limbourg brothers' February labor is a panoramic treatment of the subject. Organized in the popular "menu" picture style of early fifteenth-century illumination, where multiple actions go on simultaneously in the same frame, the miniature presents rural life from the clinical perspective of the *bergerie* narrator. The snowy winter landscape shows an enclosed farmstead, just beyond which occur the necessary tasks of woodcutting and wood transportation. An imagined diagonal axis takes the eye from the three persons indoors in the left foreground to a woodcutter active in the right background. Two of the laborers in the rear of the room, one a man with stockings and one a woman without, have raised the hems of their chemises and blue-gray cotes up above their thighs, and are warming—and displaying—their genitalia before the fire. What are probably the man's braies dry on the walls behind him. Their female employer—whose higher social station is signaled by the richer blue of her *cotte* and the way she more modestly warms her legs—sits close beside them. Beneath her hiked-up dress her white chemise is visible. A third peasant seems headed for the house, his mantle wrapped around his head for warmth. Outside the compound in the woodlot, another peasant calls our attention to what is clearly a codpiece, as he raises his arms to chop, apparently having tucked the front of his cote into his girdle. Since every detail of this genre scene is presented with a heightened realism, from the beehives to the hole in the roof to the sheep and domestic fowl scratching for feed in the snow, it seems probable that the artist's attention to genital exhibitionism is to be understood as a dominant peasant characteristic not shared by the richer

woman in the foreground.³⁵

As can be seen from this farmstead scene, such exhibitionism is characteristic of both male and female peasants and seems to serve as part of their class definition. Shepherds who lived in nature were particularly prone to this. One poet associates sexual exhibitionism with an innocent love of life, having his shepherd sing about his outdoor escapade with a shepherdess, during which he proceeds from kissing her mouth to pinching her breasts, throwing her down on the grass under the willows, and stroking her "little buttocks": "A tout ma houlette et cornemeusette / Sur la belle herbe / Je me gogooye / Avec bergerette, / plaisant, joliette, / Baisant la bouchette / Si douce que soye. / Les tetins pinsoye, / Puis la renversoie / Desoubz la saulsoye, / Tastant la fessette: / Las! Dieu scet quel joye. . ." (Guégan sig. G.lv.). Indeed, Sebastian Brant hints at a similar voyeuristic joy associated with costume among female peasants in *The Ship of Fools*, when he condemns wanton dancing among rustics: "There's naught more evil here on earth / than giddy dancing gaily done / at kermess. . . / they swing their partners in the breeze / till girls' bare legs high up one sees" (Zeydel 205).

Not only do both male and female peasants wish to show those parts of the body publicly concealed or only hinted at by short, tight clothing among the aristocracy, they also have an immediate need to satisfy instinctual desires—according to a conceit in the upper classes—which has been tamed in polite society. The *Grimani Breviary* by Gerard Horenbout (c. 1530) now in Venice, apparently copying the February labor of the *Très Riches Heures*, adds a new element to the Limbourg's genre scene. A small boy urinates through the door into the snow outside his house while his parents warm themselves before the fire, as part of the labor for February.³⁶ And the little peasant girl urinating—with genitalia carefully drawn—in a niche in the distant background of Breughel's painting *Children's Games* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1560; Roberts 41) indicates that such uncourtly behavior is common to both sexes.

In Herman's remarks to Robin about not revealing the buttocks as he crouches or bends, there is a clear reference to the medieval belief, as Malcolm Jones has recently shown, that peasants desired to "moon" or flaunt their buttocks at the upper classes as a sign of class disrespect (281-84). For example, in the *Très Riches Heures* a peasant aims his buttocks at the presumably aristocratic beholders of the miniature cycle in the labor for September (folio 9v). This behavior was also associated with fools, whose madness exonerated their incivility. Such a fool bares his buttocks to the aristocratic viewers of the Martyrdom of St.

Apollonia scene in Fouquet's Hours of Etienne Chevalier (Schaefer, fig. 45). And the Dijon Fool Society made mooning behavior an emblem of their group in the fifteenth century.

The act of mooning or exposure of the buttocks in disrespect is connected to the matter of lower-class dress in a Bavarian panel painting of the Carrying of the Cross (1400-30) by the Master of the Worcester Panel, now in the Chicago Art Institute (Figure 2). When Robin, in the University of Pennsylvania pastourelle composed at this unsettling period of transition in male costume, speaks specifically of untying the points or laces holding the hose to the braies the better to perform his shepherd duties, his remarks have a comic sense unintended by him but amusing to the narrator. Such unfastening is ungente, as is clear in the Carrying of the Cross panel, where one of Christ's tormentors, who are generally presented as coarse lower-class figures, has unfastened the points of his hose, ostensibly the better to move, but mockingly revealing his buttocks to the viewer, a detail no doubt intended to suggest the vulgarity and unrestrained sexuality of Christ's tormentors. Thus, Herman's adjurations against revealing clothes may be seen as part of an overall aristocratic preoccupation with peasant exhibitionism and the blurring of sartorial boundaries between classes, here cast in the context of a natural conflict between age and youth, past time and present.

Moreover, Herman's warning against imitating noble fashion that would incapacitate the shepherd for his work by tripping him or making him unable to squat ("crouppans") is simply a reprise of the idea that fur, silk, and the like would similarly incapacitate the shepherdess, as we saw earlier. For example, the section on clothing appropriate to the shepherd from Jean de Brie's *Le Bon Berger* specifically requires that it ought to "let him squat on his heels, under a bush when it is necessary" and "allow him to walk across the fields more surely behind his sheep" (70, 81).

Herman's remarks also reflect the concern for class transgressivity in satires and sumptuary laws regarding dress throughout Europe and Britain. These laws were motivated by concerns about both extravagance and modesty. In France in particular, as early as 1294 Philippe le Bel legislated against bourgeois excess in costume, forbidding vair and ermine and regulating the length of the poulaines. Such shoes were condemned by the Council of Anvers in 1365, and this censure was quickly followed by royal edict. In letters patent of 9 October 1368, Charles V prohibited persons of all ranks from wearing poulaines under pain of a fine of ten florins.³⁷



Figure 2: Master of the Worcester Panel, active c. 1420-35. Germany, Bavarian. Christ Carrying the Cross, 1400/1425. Reproduction, The Art Institute of Chicago.

In her recent study of Italian sumptuary law, Catherine Killerby has pointed out that Aquila passed an ordinance in 1375 legislating against men who wore pourpoints so short their genitals and buttocks were exposed (62). A similar regulation in England of 1483 associated this short clothing with social class, prohibiting anyone "below the estate of lord [from wearing] any gown or mantle which did not cover his body to below the hips, on pain of forfeiting 20s for each offense" (Myers, Item 692, 1178) while *The Brut* of about 1346 mentions this swing to foreign fashion—the "madness and folly of the foreigners"—as occurring in England, especially the taste for "short clothes" (Brie 296-97). Indeed, it is just such "pykkyd schone" (long, moss-stuffed toe extensions) and "gownys / To schortt yt ys theyre kneys to hele [hide]" that the well-known Middle English poem "Huff A Gallant" remarks on as part of the follies of the age, much as does Herman in the Pennsylvania pastourelle just quoted.³⁸ And the incapacitating character of the fashion for poulaines remarked on by Robin is well noted by the Tudor chronicler John Stowe in his *Annales*. He mentions the "detestable use"—by English courtiers and gallants since Richard II's marriage to Anne of Bohemia in 1382—of "pyked shoes" whose toes had to be tied to the wearer's knees with silver and gilt chains.³⁹

The author of the Pennsylvania pastourelle has skillfully interwoven this sort of satiric treatment of upper-class excess with the fear of peasant sexuality and desire to claim the prerogatives of upper-class life. Yet beyond our recognition of this underlying dynamic of the genre, costume description in the pastourelle also reveals to us a nascent curiosity about how a different class lives, which, it seems to me, is a feature both novel and inherently striking in the history of culture. The pastourelle as an art form with strict conventions and limitations allows or legitimizes an exploration of an alien class and customs in a socially safe way and makes rural life available to courtly and urban-elite audiences in a convenient and palatable form.

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Notes

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² This miniature is published by Claude Schaefer, ed., *The Hours of Etienne Chevalier: Jean Fouquet* (New York: Braziller, 1971) fig. 43.

³ See generally Pierre Bec, *Lyrique française au moyen age (XIIe-XIIIe siècles): Contribution à une typologie des genres poétiques médiévales: Etudes et textes*, 2 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1977-78) 119-35; Edmond Faral, "La Pastourelle," *Romania* 49 (1923): 204-59; Alfred Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au Moyen Age: Etudes de littérature française et comparée* (Paris: Champion, 1965); Michel Zink, *La Pastourelle. Poésie et folklore au Moyen Age* (Paris-Montréal: Bordas, 1972); Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1972) 306-15; Jean Frappier, *Poésie lyrique française aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles: Les auteurs et les genres*. (Paris: Centre de Documentation Universitaires, 1966); and Mary Radcliffe and G. J. Halligan, "Etude du genre de la pastourelle," *Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association: A Journal of Literary Criticism, Philology & Linguistics* 44 (1975): 220-46.

⁴ This point is well made by Monique Closson in her "Le Costume paysan au Moyen Age: Sources et méthodes," in Yves Delaporte, ed., *Vêtements et sociétés. 2e Actes du colloque national C.N.R.S.: Vers une anthropologie du vêtement*. Musée de l'Homme, 9-11 mars 1983 (Paris: Société d'ethnographie and C.N.R.S., 1983). For the earlier Middle Ages she notes, "Il n'y a pas de documents écrits et les miniatures sont d'interprétation plus difficile. Pour les XIVe et XVe siècles, en revanche, le réalisme des représentations est plus grand et les archives offrent une riche série de plusieurs centaines d'inventaires paysans" (293).

⁵ Caroline Walker Bynum and Paula Gerson, "Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages," *Gesta* 36.1 (1997): 5.

⁶ On Juan Ruiz, see Anthony N. Zahareas and Thomas McCallum, eds., *Libro del Arcipreste (tambien llamado 'Libro de Buen Amor': Edicion sintopica*, Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Spanish Series 44 (Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1989); Alan Deyermond, "Some Aspects of Parody in the *Libro de Buen Amor*" in G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny, ed., '*Libro de buen amor*' Studies (London: Grant & Cutler, 1970) 53-78; Steven D. Kirby, "Juan Ruiz's *Serranas*: The Archpriest-Pilgrim and Medieval Wild Women," in John Miletich, ed., *Hispanic Studies in Honor of Alan D. Deyermond: A North American Tribute* (Madison, WI: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1986) 151-69; and Pierre Le Gentil, "A propos des cantigas de serrana de l'Archiprêtre de Hita," in Harri Meier and Hans Schkommodau, eds., *Wort und Text: Festschrift für Fritz Schalk* (Frankfort am Main: Klostermann, 1963) 133-41. For the genre of *serranilla*, see Nancy F. Marino, *La Serranilla española: Notas para su historia e interpretación* (Potomac, MD: Scripta Humanistica, 1987). For Germany see André Moret, "Le mythe de la pastourelle allemande," *Etudes germaniques* 3 (1948): 187-93; and particularly A. T. Hatto, "Neidhart von Ruental," *Essays on Medieval German and Other Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980) 3-11; Rolf R. Mueller, "On the medieval satiric fictions of Neidhart and Wittenwiller: Fools for their theme: Let satire be their song," in Winder McConnell, ed., *In höherem prise. A Festschrift in Honor of Ernst S. Dick* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1989) 295-305; Ulrich Müller, 'Gaude mihi!' oder Das Neidhart-Lied vom 'Wengling' (Lied c.7. f.12)," *Deutsche Literatur des Spätmittelalters, Ergebnisse, Probleme und Perspektiven der Forschung*, Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters 3 (Greifswald: Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-U, 1986) 123-41; Eckehard Simon, *Neidhart von Reuenthal* (Boston: Twayne, 1975) and "The Rustic Muse: Neidhart Schwänke in Murals, Stone Carvings, and Woodcuts," *The Germanic Review* 46 (1971): 243-57; Ulrich Gaier, *Satire: Studien zu Neidhart, Wittenwiller, Brant und zur satirischen Schreibart* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967). Elizabeth I. Traverse, *Peasants, Seasons and Werltsüeze: Cyclicity in Neidhart's Songs Reexamined* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1997) gives an extensive recent bibliography of this author.

⁷ There are twenty of these works (called *pastourelles* in the manuscripts) by Froissart. See Rob Roy McGregor, Jr., ed., *The Lyric Poems of Jehan Froissart: A Critical Edition*, North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures 143 (Chapel Hill, NC: Department of Romance Languages, 1975) 151-93; three (nos. 7, 12, and 14) have been newly edited and translated into English in Kristen

M. Figg, ed. and tr., *Jean Froissart: An Anthology of Narrative and Lyric Poetry* (New York and London: Routledge, 2001) 520-30. The poems by Deschamps are nos. 315, 327, 336, 337, 339, 344, 359 in Queux de Saint-Hilaire, ed., *Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps*, Vol.III, SATF 25 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1882; rpt. Johnson, 1966). See also Laura Kendrick, "La poésie pastorale de Eustache Deschamps: Miroir de mentalité à la fin du 14e siècle," *Romanistische Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte* 7.1-2 (1983): 28-44.

⁸ See William Kibler and James I. Wimsatt, "The Development of the Pastourelle in the Fourteenth Century: An Edition of Fifteen Poems with an Analysis," *Mediaeval Studies* 45 (1983): 22-78. References to the Pennsylvania pastourelle later in this paper will be made to this edition. See also James I. Wimsatt, "Froissart, Chaucer and the Pastourelles of the Pennsylvania Manuscript," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer Proceedings* 1 (1984): 69-79; *Chaucer and the Poems of 'Ch' in University of Pennsylvania MS French 15* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer; Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield, 1982) 83-129; and Charles R. Mudge, "The Pennsylvania Chansonier: A Critical Edition of Ninety-Five Anonymous Ballades from the Fourteenth Century with Introduction, Notes and Glossary" (Diss. Indiana U., 1972). Maurice Delbouille, "Les Origines de la pastourelle," *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* 20.2 (1926): 4-5, has noted the Picard provenance of the majority of the *bergeries*.

⁹ For poems of this type see, for example, William D. Paden, ed. and tr., *The Medieval Pastourelle*, 2 vols., Garland Library of Medieval Literature 34-35, Ser. A (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1987), poems 18, p. 63; 43, p. 133; 97, p. 259; 87, p. 239; 88, p. 241; 97, p. 259; 131, p. 337; 164, p. 271; 109, p. 283; 111, p. 287; and 119, p. 307. References to the pastourelles will be made to this edition unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁰ On this subject, William Powell Jones, *The Pastourelle* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1931) has noted that much of France, especially central France, was pastoral, and that "peasant young women have practically only one occupation, that of guarding the flock" (38-39).

¹¹ Jean de Brie, *Le Bon Berger: Le vrai règlement et gouvernement des bergers et bergères*, reprint edition of 1522 by Paul Lacroix (Paris: Isidore Lisieux, 1879) 80. A modernized edition is that by Michel

Clévenot (Paris: Vivre/Stock 2, 1979). See on this author Gustaf Holmér, "Jean de Brie et son traité de l'art de bergerie," *Studia Neophilologica* 39 (1967): 128-49.

¹² This miniature is published by Closson, "Le Costume paysan," fig. 11 (302).

¹³ This cutting is published by James R. Tanis and Jennifer A. Thompson, eds., *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections, Exhibition Catalogue*, 21 (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001) 83. In his notes on this miniature, Roger Wieck comments that "the shepherdess' relaxed posture and potentially suggestive fingering of her tall distaff may have implied loose living to medieval eyes" (84).

¹⁴ The miniature is published by Anne-Caroline Beaugendre, *Les Merveilles du Monde ou Les Secrets de l'histoire naturelle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale and Anthèse, 1996) 37. On Testard, see most recently Véronique P. Day, "Le Maître d'Yvon du Fou: Un enlumineur poitevin au service d'Yvon du Fou, grand veneur de France," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'ouest et des Musées de Poitiers*, 5e série, 10 (1996): 275-306.

¹⁵ One extraordinarily valuable source for information on rustic costume from the fourteenth century—admittedly at some remove from the period of the pastourelles but not by much—is the collection of Burgundian wills and inventories of possessions recently studied by Monique Closson and her colleagues (Tableaux 1-3, 303-05). The recent literature on sumptuary laws has tended to focus on England, Scotland, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany and on the Renaissance rather than on France and the earlier Middle Ages. Some studies are Anonymous, "A Thirteenth-century Castilian Sumptuary Law," *Business History Review* 37 (1963): 98-100; Frances Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1926); Clifford Bell and Evelyn Ruse, "Sumptuary Legislation and English Costume: An Attempt to Assess the Effect of an Act of 1337," *Costume: Journal of the Costume Society* 6 (1972): 22-31; Herman Freudenberger "Fashion, Sumptuary Laws and Business," *Business History Review* 37 (1963): 37-48; Elizabeth Hurlock, "Sumptuary Law" in Mary Roach and Joanne Eichler, eds., *Dress, Adornment and the Social Order* (New York: John Wiley, 1965) 295-301; Diane Owen Hughes, "Regulating Women's Fashion," in C.

Klapisch-Zuber, ed., *Silences of the Middle Ages: A History of Women in the West*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA, and London: Belknap 1992) 136-58; John Martin Vincent, *Costume and Conduct in the Laws of Basel, Bern, and Zurich, 1370-1800* (New York: Greenwood Press, rpt. 1969); and Joanna Phillips and Helen Staley, "Sumptuary Legislation in Four Centuries," *Journal of Home Economics* 53 (1961): 673-77. That the issue of class transgressivity through costume and fabric was as current in the Elizabethan period as in the later Middle Ages is clear from Lisa Jardine, "'Make Thy Doublet of Changeable Taffeta': Dress Codes, Sumptuary Law and 'Natural' Order," in Lisa Jardine, ed., *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (New York: Columbia UP, 1989) 141-68, who prints some Elizabethan sumptuary legislation and gives numerous examples of literary comment on transgressive costume.

¹⁶ E. Jane Burns, "Ladies Don't Wear Braies: Underwear and Outerwear in the French Prose *Lancelot*" in William W. Kibler, ed., *The Lancelot-Grail Cycle: Text and Transformations* (Austin, TX: U of Texas P, 1994) 156. A brief historical overview of the chemise is given by Monique de Fontanès in Monique de Fontanès and Yves Delaporte, eds., *Vêtements et sociétés, Actes des journées de rencontre des 2 et 3 mars 1979* (Paris: Laboratoire d'ethnologie du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle: Société des amis du Musée de l'homme, 1981) 123-42 with illustrative drawings. See also Eunice R. Goddard, *Women's Costume in French Texts of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1927) 91-97; Cecil and Phyllis Cunningham, *The History of Underclothes* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981) 21, 25; Françoise Piponnier, "Linge de maison et linge de corps au Moyen Age," *Ethnologie française* 3 (1986): 239-48; and, more popular, Elizabeth Ewing, *Dress and Undress: A History of Women's Underwear* (New York: Drama Book Specialists, 1978).

¹⁷ See, for the outer clothing, Joan Evans, *Dress in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952) 5-9. More recent introductions to peasant costume in the Middle Ages, focusing on France, are Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, tr. Caroline Beamish (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1997); Perrine Mane, "Emergence du Vêtement de travail à travers l'iconographie médiévale" in Michel Pastoureau, ed., *Le Vêtement: Histoire, archaéologie et symbolique vestimentaires au moyen âge* (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1989) 93-122; Alma Oakes and Margot Hill, *Rural Costume, Its Origins and Development in Western Europe and the*

British Isles (London: Batsford, 1970); and Irena Turnau, *European Occupational Dress* (Warsaw, Académie Polonaise des Sciences, 1994).

¹⁸ “Pers” strictly speaking seems to be a blue not related to woad but obtained—as its name would suggest—from a Persian process using indigo. It seems definitely to have an upper-class connotation in Middle English, as in the description of a used garment worn by Chaucer’s Reeve in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*; however, its exact significance in Old French is not clear. I am grateful to Laura F. Hodges for information on this point. See generally, Michel Pastoureau, *Blue: The History of a Color* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2001). Male and female peasant garb in the Luttrell Psalter is often a drab woad-derived purple-blue-grey. See, for example, Janet Backhouse, *Medieval Rural Life in the Luttrell Psalter* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2000) and Dominique Cardon et al., *Guide des teintures naturelles* (Neufchâtel-Paris: Delachaux and Nestlé, 1990).

¹⁹ Laura F. Hodges has also discussed the significance of wearing only the chemise in “The Sartorial Signs in *Troilus and Criseyde*,” *The Chaucer Review* 35 (2001): 223-59.

²⁰ This miniature is published by Fanny Faÿ-Sallois, *Le Trésor des heures* (Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 2002) 107.

²¹ See generally Laura F. Hodges, *Chaucer and Costume: The Secular Pilgrims in the General Prologue* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2000).

²² Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (NY: St. Martins, 1996) 70. See generally Elizabeth Ewing, *Fur in Dress* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1981) and John Feltwell, *The History of Silk* (London: Sutton, 1990).

²³ Etienne Giraudias, *Etude historique sur les lois somptuaires* (Poitiers: Oudin et Cie, 1910) 103-24, and Pierre Kraemer-Raine, *Le Luxe et les lois somptuaires au moyen âge* (Paris: Ernest Sagot, 1920) 106-27 give some examples.

²⁴ The English sumptuary law of 1363 is item 681 in A. R. Myers, ed., *English Historical Documents 1327-1485* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1969) 1153-85.

²⁵ Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions* 128. Only members of the royal family were allowed to wear scarlet in Portugal, for example. See A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Daily Life in Portugal in the Late Middle Ages* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1971) 90. See also J. B. Weckerlin, *Le Drap 'escarlate' au moyen âge: Essai sur l'étymologie et la signification du mot écarlate et notes techniques sur la fabrication de ce drap de laine au moyen âge* (Lyon: A. Rey, 1905). See also Evans, *Dress in Medieval France* 26, for a discussion of scarlet as both a fabric and a color.

²⁶ Translation in text by John B. Friedman. The original poem appears in William Kibler and James I. Wimsatt, "The Development of the Pastourelle in the Fourteenth Century: An Edition of Fifteen Poems with an Analysis," *Mediaeval Studies* 45 (1983): 22-78. The passage in question reads as follows:

Un viel pastour nomme Hermans,
qui avoit bien cent ans passez,
l'autrier fu son filz appellans
en lui dist: 'Robin, sa venez!
Je sent bien que je vois morant,
et pour ce firay enseignant
comment tu feras apres mi:

...

Gardes bien qu'aies juppeaux blans,
chausses, soulers ratacconez
a trois noyauls fors et tillans,
et aussi est mes voulentez

...

Ne te soies pas cours vestans
que on voye ton cul de tous lez
ne ton membre en brayes crouppans:
c'est a veoir grans inequite,
ne pour riens poulaines portans[.]

...

Robin respondi, fort tremblans:
'Peres, je feray vostre grez.
Ja poulaines ne seray chaucans--
je seroye tantost tumbes.
Ja n'iray mon ventre estraignant,
ne mes chausses point attachant

a mes cottes, je vous affi,
car se m'agenouilloye ansi
trestout romperoit en plusieurs lieux.'
(Kibler and Wimsatt 38-39)

²⁷ George Fenwick Jones, "Sartorial Symbols in Medieval Literature," *Medium Aevum* 25 (1956) has seen as a main element in anti-transgressive satire a contrast between the doublet and hose of courtiers and aristocrats and the cotes and braies of peasants: "they were polar opposites and served as popular symbols of social status" (65).

²⁸ See Carmélia Opsomer *et al.*, eds., *Livre des simples médecines: Codex Bruxellensis IV. 1024: A 15th-century French Herbal* (Antwerp: De Schutter, 1984). Françoise Piponnier treats the shift from *cote* and *braies* to *pourpoint* and *chausses* at about the time the University of Pennsylvania pastourelle was written in "Une Révolution dans le costume masculin au 14e siècle" in Pastoureau, ed., *Le Vêtement* 225-42.

²⁹ Jonathan J. G. Alexander, "Labeur and Paresse. Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor," *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 436-52, and Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1999).

³⁰ See Randle Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues*, Facsimile ed. (Columbia South Carolina: U of South Carolina P, 1950) s.v. "braguette." See also Georges Bernage, "Les Braies," *Moyen Age* 6 (1998): 50-53.

³¹ For an extravagant view of the codpiece, see Jacques Boulenger, ed., *Rabelais: Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris: NRF-Pléiade, 1955) Ch. 7, 49.

³² François Boucher, *20,000 years of Fashion: History of Costume and Personal Adornment* (New York: Abrams, 1987) 195, claims that the codpiece is a fifteenth-century fashion invention, though he places its origins as early as 1371. The best recent study of the codpiece with numerous sketches and examples from Renaissance portraiture is that of Grace Q. Vicary, "Visual Art as Social Data: The Renaissance Codpiece," *Cultural Anthropology* 4 (1989): 3-25, though she places the fashion for the codpiece rather later than perhaps was the case. See

also Milton N. Grass, *History of Hosiery* (New York: Fairchild, 1956) 98; and Marion Sichel, *History of Men's Costume* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, Ltd., 1984) 17.

³³ Cited in and translated by Malcolm Jones, *The Secret Middle Ages: Discovering the Real Medieval World* (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2002) 252. The original is a *meisterlied*, "Die drey dolpischen predig stueck" in E. Goetze et al., eds., *Sämliche fabeln und schwänke, von Hans Sachs. In chronologischer ordnung nach den originalen*, Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke, des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts Bd. 164-69 (Halle: S. M. Niemeyer, 1893-1913) Vol. 5, 348-49, number 816.

³⁴ Peter Breughel, *The Wheat Harvest: August* (1565), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, reproduced in Keith Roberts, *Bruegel* (NY: Phaidon, 1982) 93.

³⁵ Those who have seen this miniature only in certain reproductions will be surprised to learn that it has been bowdlerized in the half-tone illustration for the paperback edition of Jean Longnon and Raymond Cazelles, eds., *The Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry* (NY: Braziller, 1969) folio 3. The lithographic reproduction in the hardback edition is far closer to the original miniature. I am grateful to Professor Lorraine K. Stock for information on this point.

³⁶ See Mario Salmi, ed., *The Grimani Breviary, reproduced from the illuminated manuscript belonging to the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1974) folio 2v, and, more easy of access, Tullia Gasparrini Leporace, ed., *Il calendario del Breviario Grimani* (Milano: Edizioni d'Arte Amilcare Pizzi, 1954) and Paul Jamot, ed., *Travaux et fêtes au moyen âge, les douze mois de l'année; reproduction en 11 couleurs et or de 12 miniatures du Bréviaire Grimani* (Paris: Plon, 1936). Another interesting addition by this artist was to have the August labor symbolized by a sleeping peasant who reveals his bare thighs in braies in the bas-de-page for the main miniature (folio 9).

³⁷ For the edict of 1298 see Eusèbe de Laurière and Denis-François Secousse, eds., *Ordonnances des roys de France de la troisième race recueillies par ordre chronologique: avec des renvois des unes aux autres, des sommaires, des observations sur le texte, & cinq tables* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1723-1849; rpt. Farnborough (Hants), Gregg

Publishers, 1967) Vol. 1, 541, and Kraemer-Raine, *Le Luxe et les lois* 106-09. For the Council of Anvers see Kraemer-Raine, *Le Luxe et les lois* 121, and for the letters patent of 1368, Constant Leber ed., *Pièces relatives à l'histoire de France* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1837-48) 10: 460.

³⁸ Rossell Hope Robbins, ed., *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (NY: Columbia UP, 1959) 138, 149. Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, eds., *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York: Columbia UP, 1943) #4255. Note similar comments in London, British Library MS Harley 373, folio 113; Oxford, University College MS 154, folio ii r and Cambridge, Trinity College MS 1157, folio 27r. "Long pykyd crakowed shon" are reproved in "The Complaint of Man's Flesh Against Christ," in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 1703, folio 120.

³⁹ John Stowe, *Annales of England* (London: G. Bishop and T. Adams, 1611) 471. On this interesting author, see Barrett L. Beer, *Tudor England Observed: The World of John Stowe* (Thrupp, Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1998).

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